2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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in their spare time, and chiefly in the dry season when there is no farm work. They are exceedingly few in numbers—one or two in a settlement —and their work is of mediocre quality. The only blacksmiths in Taleland are about a dozen men of the Sakpee clan of Tenzugu, and only one of them derives a substantial part of his livelihood from his craft. A leather-worker or two, a potteress, a sewer of caps, may be found in almost every settlement. Some men and women who are more skilful than their neighbours at making articles of common use such as hen-coops, baskets, bows, adze-shafts, &c., are in the habit of making a few for sale every dry season. The only specialized occupation is that of the diviner, and it, also, is a part-time occupation in addition to farming, though a popular diviner, making perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence a day, may farm less land than he normally would. Diviners are numerous. There may be as many as ten or twenty in a large settlement, but only one or two of them will earn more than a few pence a day by divining.

British Rule and Contact with Western Civilization

Until the time of my first visit to Taleland the natives had been very little influenced by the agencies of British government and of European civilization that are active in these parts. The main roads skirt Taleland so that the flow of north- and south-bound traffic by-passes the largest part of the area. Nevertheless, these roads have served to open up Taleland to a wider sphere of intercourse with other parts of the Gold Coast than was possible twenty years before. Political and social conditions made it impossible for people to travel freely beyond a radius of a few miles from their own settlements in former days. To-day young men and even women go in increasing numbers every year, in the dry season, to Tamale, Kumasi, or the coast towns. Some go to visit friends or relatives, some carry fowls for sale, others go as seasonal labourers, and others go to work abroad for a term of years. In 1923 the Administration of the Northern Territories reluctantly agreed to assist in the recruitment of labour for the mines and cocoa farms of Ashanti and the colony. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned. Nowadays labour migration from the Northern Territories is entirely voluntary. It has become linked up with the normal economic life of the natives. Whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer. The cessation of agricultural activity in the dry season makes it easy for a young man to get away for a few months without loss to the routine of farming.

Economic incentives, which the natives sum up as 'the desire for money', therefore lie behind much labour migration in the Northern Territories. And the value of money may be gauged from the fact that a hen could be bought for 6*d.* to 1*s.*, a cow in good condition for £2. 10*s.*, and a dish of porridge enough for a satisfying meal for 1/10 of a penny in any market in 1934–7. But there are other incentives as well. Curiosity, and the desire to see the places and experience the life which those who return from a stay abroad describe to their fellows at home, stimulate many a youth to go south for a short or long period. And friction with

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

OTHER SOURCES OF FOOD SUPPLY. A particular household at a particular time may have quite a number of sources of food supply besides the fields of the unit of food economy to which it belongs. Next to their farms the most important source of food supply for the Tallensi is the market, especially in the lean months. A completely empty granary imposes upon the head of the self-supporting unit the duty of finding grain. This is when he falls back on his live stock and sells or barters them for grain.[1] As long as he has some grain to ration out, however frugally, he will not buy for common consumption. Each household and each primary family must exert itself to make up the deficient grain supply. The junior householders and the women—the keenest and most inveterate market traders—exploit the resources of the grain market. Those who have a little money go as far as Nabte or Mampuru land, countries rich in grain two or three days' march away, to buy guinea-corn, late millet, or maize. They bring back the grain in bags of roughly 20 to 40 lb. weight. The usual procedure is for the purchaser to bring home his or her grain, set aside a small portion—perhaps 5 to 10 lb.—for his or her own consumption and retail the rest at the local market so as to realize the original outlay or a few pence more. The principal profit consists in the small quantity eaten. Many women turn the grain or pulse they buy into cooked food, a small proportion of which goes to feed their husbands and children, but most of which is sold in the market at a profit and the proceeds re-invested in grain. But very many people have to be content with purchasing small quantities in the local markets. A man may sell a few chickens or guinea-fowl or a goat or something he has made, like an adze-shaft or a bow; a woman sells some ground-nuts, dried vegetables, shea nuts, shea butter or some dawa-dawa seed balls (*kpslug*) to buy the grain. In this way does the market help to eke out the domestic supply of grain.

This source of grain supply is wholly subject to the principle of differentiation of subordinate units within the unit of food economy. A woman's market-purchases, like her ground-nuts, go to feed her

[1] A bull is usually reckoned as worth about 30*s*., a heifer £2, a sheep from 3*s*. to 6*s*., a goat from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 4*s*. Prices depend on the season, and the age and condition of the animal. A bull exchanges for about 40 large baskets of unthreshed grain, sheep, and goats in proportion.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

consumption of mutton, and especially of goat-meat is thus considerably greater than of beef; and often a household receives an entire leg or half a carcase as its share of a sacrifice made by some one of junior status. One or two of these animals are slaughtered for sale by professional butchers in the markets every week. The markets which we knew best were all within convenient distance of the small foreign settlements of Hausa, Yoruba, and Mossi people found here and there along the motor-road, and observation showed that they were the chief customers of the butchers. But a Talena occasionally buys a little meat—from a few ounces for 3*d*., to a leg for 9*d*. to 1*s*. He may do this when he wishes to make a special gift to the mother of a girl he is courting; or when his wife is confined and he wishes to bring her some strengthening food.

The dog, widely kept as a domestic scavenger, is also a sacrificial animal, though only in special circumstances and on particular occasions such as the New Year's Festival. It is regarded as a great delicacy. Game, greatly prized, is communally hunted with dogs throughout the dry season. This contribution to the larder of the majority, however, seems to be negligible, as game is scarce in the bush on the periphery of Tale-land, and the animals killed become almost entirely the perquisites of chiefs and elders. The carnivores, though regarded with disgust by the young men who take a warrior's pride in killing them, are considered a luxury by the old men. We once observed the division of the carcase of a hyena, shot by a youth, among the elders of his clan. The younger men spurned the animal as a 'filthy thing' because it digs up and devours corpses.

Fish (*zig*) is also prized as a delicate food, and there is always a small supply of dry fish available in the market throughout the dry, and part of the rainy season. The Tallensi fish the pools of the partially dry Volta River communally[1] in the dry season, but with poor success, as far as the average householder is concerned. As a rule fish is bought in the market, like meat, only for special purposes.

The innumerable food taboos, some differentiating the sexes, some of totemic significance, and very many varying from individual to

[1] These fishing expeditions are described in a paper by M. Fortes, 'Communal Fishing and Fishing Magic in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast', to be published in the *J.R.A.I.*

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
FE11 Tallensi FE11

individual cannot be discussed here. Where necessary reference will be made to them later, in so far as they influence the consumption of protein foods.

For the most part, however, the meat which forms an indispensable ingredient of every well-cooked meal, is that of the guinea-fowl. The domestic fowl which is kept as universally as the guinea-fowl, cannot replace the latter since all women eschew it and all first-born children in some clans taboo it. Every compound has its chickens and guinea-fowls. Every man keeps his own; women often do so too; boys begin to breed poultry before they can use a hoe. For poultry, say the Tallensi, is the beginning of wealth. A chicken may be the cause of a quarrel between householders, in which long-standing friction comes to a head, and which leads to households breaking away from the larger unit. In the ownership of poultry, therefore, the tendencies towards the differentiation of households and individuals within the unit of food economy come to marked expression. An individual, even a small boy, can dispose of his poultry freely; the owner of a sheep or a goat, if he is a junior member of a self-supporting unit, would have to inform the head of his unit before selling it, though the proceeds are his own; and all cattle, though nominally owned absolutely by the head of the joint family, can be disposed of only by the common consent of the senior members of that group. Thus the guinea-fowls which find their way into the cooking-pot are obtained not from the head of the unit of food economy, but by each housewife from her husband or by her own efforts. Guinea-fowls are slaughtered specifically for the pot, fowls never. Both kinds of birds are the commonest sacrificial animals, and a guinea-fowl the commonest gift to a woman. Hence the number of birds one sees at a compound is no criterion of the amount of poultry-meat consumed there—the less so as the Tallensi are reluctant to sacrifice their own birds, but prefer to purchase birds for this purpose.[1]

The Tallensi are not particularly discriminating in their choice of meat. Domestic animals dying of disease are eaten to the last shred. At the height of the ritual season cows are often slaughtered and left to lie in the broiling sun for two days before time is found to skin them.

[1] Guinea-fowls sell at 1½*d.* to 6*d.*, chickens at 1*d.* to 9*d.* (depending upon size and the season).

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

dawn. They might tell their parents where they are going, but would not be sent for to come home.

Numerous instances could be added to illustrate further the freedom allowed to children. Of the responsibility allotted to them in applying their skills and their appreciation of it, one good example may be quoted. I was chatting with a group of boys, aged about 7–11 years, at sunset one day, when Duunbil, the oldest of them, suddenly exclaimed, clasping his hands in a gesture expressing both amusement and consternation: 'Ma! I've forgotten to untie the goats; I'll get a whipping.' 'You'd better run,' one of the others advised, as he dashed away. His companions explained that he had pegged his father's goats out in the morning to graze and that it was his duty to bring them home again. Goats cannot be left out all night lest hyenas catch them. A few days later I met Duunbil again and he told me, with a grin, that he had not managed to bring the goats in till after dark, but that he had been let off with a mild beating.

Children and adolescents share economic tasks in accordance with their skill and maturity, and they have a strong sense of the rights to which they are entitled in consequence. An adolescent has the right to be adequately fed and supported by his or her parents in return for co-operation in agricultural or domestic work. I have known of youths running away from home when they considered themselves to be badly treated in these respects. Children expect to have their services acknowledged in a similar way. Yindol, aged about 11, an intelligent and enterprising lad, was already giving his father valuable assistance, both in the care of live stock and in farming. When the great dances came round, Yindol wanted a new loin cloth. His father refused to buy him one, whereupon Yindol went on strike, neglected the chickens, the donkeys, the goats and refused to go to the bush farm even after a beating. In the end his father had to yield. *Bii la mar buurt*—'The boy has justice on his side'—he said, when he told me the story.

A similar incident occurred with a man who supplied us with milk for a short while. Money is scarce in Taleland and 2*s.* 6*d.* a month is an enviable addition to family resources. Yet one day he came to tell me apologetically that he could no longer sell me milk. Why? His small son, whose job it was to herd the cow, had rebelled. He

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

to be profitably exported from distances more than 600 miles from the coast. The alternative is a local export to some part of the country with money to spend; the obvious solution lies in the export of livestock to Ashanti and the Colony.

Livestock Industry.

The conditions under which livestock are kept in North Mamprusi have been fully discussed under the heading "Animal Husbandry", pages 31 to 33. It has been shown that whilst livestock are used mainly for uneconomic purposes, marriage dowries and sacrifice, they are becoming increasingly regarded as a source of money; and with the rapid development in money consciousness which is proceeding to-day, there is no doubt that the value of livestock will become to be recognised more and more. Survey showed that 54% of compounds (probably rather less over the whole district) owned cattle of the West African Shorthorn type. Bullocks find a ready sale to butchers' agents at prices varying from £1 10s. to £3 15s.; and milk, in the form of curds, is sold in local markets. Nearly all compounds own sheep, goats, fowls, and guinea fowls, and the trade in fowls is already very well established. The market for livestock in Ashanti and the Colony is practically unlimited; only a very small proportion of the meat slaughtered is locally grown. But if this proportion is to be increased, local methods of animal husbandry must be improved. Attention to breeding alone is not enough, as the Director of Veterinary Services pointed out in his Annual Report for 1935-36 (12). And because the bulk of the livestock in the Gold Coast belong to the cultivators of the soil, it will be seen, that the development of mixed farming is just as necessary for the future of the livestock industry, as the development of the livestock industry is for the future of mixed farming. Thus the ultimate justification for the investment of capital in working bullocks and cattle-drawn implements must be in the export of livestock. Work with livestock is necessarily slow, but if good feeding and good breeding produce an improvement in the local stock equivalent to the improvement effected in Northern Nigeria, by attention to these matters with Zebu cattle (13)—and there would seem to be no reason why it should not—we shall have little difficulty in justifying the cost of a plough, when local unimproved bullocks are worth nearly £4 a head to butchers' agents at the present time.

Sale of Surplus Foodstuffs.

But before livestock receive better treatment the people themselves must have sufficient food, and it is by the sale, as food upon local markets, of a surplus of production over individual requirements that the first mixed farmers are likely to receive a return. At the present time, large quantities of grain are imported from

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusasi

Dagomba, Mamprusi, and Kusasi, during the dry season, and much of this is stored at such places as Bolgatanga, and sold during the time of greatest shortage, that is before early millet is reaped at the end of June. A sack of corn weighs approximately 180 lbs. and sells at from 14s. to 18s. a sack. This trade enables us to give a money value to the produce from our farms. It is interesting to examine the yields from the cultivation experiment in the Headman of Goragu's compound farm (see Appendix IV, Table 3). From this it will be seen that during a three-year period the total mean yield of grain per acre from "native" plots was 2,370 lbs., and from "ridged" plots (cultivation by hand in 1934 and 1935 and by plough in 1936), 4,384 lbs.; a mean increase per acre for three years of 2,014 lbs. If this increase had been sold in Bolgatanga market at 13s. for 180 lbs. (*i.e.*, 14s. less 1s. for the bag) it would have realised nearly £7 10s. It would not require many acres yielding at this rate to justify the expenditure of £4 upon implements and £6-£8 upon working bullocks, that is assuming the farmer had no bullocks of his own already. Furthermore, very much less labour was expended upon the "ridged" plots than "native". Admittedly other cultivation experiments have not given such spectacular results, but the indication is the same in all.

It is difficult to say how much grain it would take to saturate the local market, but by the time it becomes saturated the Department of Agriculture should have acquired sufficient information to advise farmers how a surplus can most profitably be fed to livestock. For this reason an experimental stock farm is an essential part of the machinery for mixed farming research. In passing it might be mentioned that foodstuff prices will fall, as saturation point is approached: whilst this will not be popular with fixed farmers, it will assist the poor man to get food more easily. In this way we shall be accomplishing one of our primary objects in working in North Mamprusi; for it is the poor man who creates the food shortage problem, not the would-be mixed farmer.

Kusasi Groundnut Trade.

A consideration of sources of farming capital would not be complete without reference to a newly developed trade in decorticated groundnuts and groundnut oil from Kusasi, for the Kumasi market. From a start of 200 bags in 1933 the export has developed to 9,000 bags in 1937 (weight per bag approximately 160 lbs.). The trade is almost entirely in the hands of Messrs. Chedid, who centralise the nuts in Bawku and send them on their lorries to Kumasi when the supply of sheep and goats will not give them a full load. The lorries come North with cola, salt, cloths, etc. The price paid to the producer for decorticated groundnuts is 8s.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusasi

to 8s. 6d. a bag (about £4 18s. per ton); and the cost of transport on a bag to Kumasi, a distance of 380 miles, is from 4s. to 5s., which works out at about 2d. per ton mile. The trade is of particular interest in that it shows the people in Kusasi are prepared to grow a crop to sell for cash, and that transport will follow production, even at so great a distance from the market.

CONCLUSIONS.

The time is ripe for the introduction of mixed farming. That is to utilise livestock, firstly, to provide an adequate food supply for the people; and secondly, to produce a surplus for sale, either directly, as in the case of groundnuts in Kusasi, or metabolized and sold in the form of livestock, for which we have seen there is a large market in the South. In cases where labour has to be hired for farm work, as upon school farms, and possibly upon the farms of salaried Chiefs, when tribute and tribute labour is commuted, mixed farming can be recommended immediately as a profitable investment. It is possible that the production of such money crops as groundnuts, cotton, ginger, and sesamum, which are not profitable to grow by hand methods of cultivation for an external market, might become profitable with animal cultivation.

The control of burning and the use of the material so protected, as dry season fodder or bedding for livestock and the manufacture of farmyard manure, is within the power of everyone to adopt with advantage. But animal cultivation has a limited application in North Mamprusi for two main reasons:—

1. Lack of farming capital. Some form of loan scheme similar to the one in Nigeria will have to be devised to overcome this difficulty. We must first prove that it will be possible for a farmer to repay his loan before we can prepare details.

2. Density of population, and the shortage of land. The average area of land cultivated by a man at present is 2½ acres but the average area farmed by a compound is 8 acres. The compound must therefore be the unit owning a plough and bullocks. The time so saved can be devoted to the rearing of livestock, making enclosures round farms and grazing lands, and so on.

It is probable that, ultimately, expansion will take place into areas at present unoccupied. This must be attended with careful control.

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APP

Giving an analysis of the livestock o

Livestock	Value in Units†	Bongo						Nangodi				
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI*	I	II*	III	IV	V*
Cattle	60	8	–	–	1	–	3	–	4	8	1	2
Donkeys	30	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	2	–	–
Sheep	10	–	–	1	2	–	6	–	15	4	1	8
Goats	8	10	–	1	6	–	7	–	25	4	1	5
Fowls	1	15	–	–	10	1	10	–	16	15	5	20
Guinea fowls ...	1	–	–	–	–	–	8	–	25	14	3	16
Horses	160	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total Units ...		605	nil	18	168	1	374	–	631	641	86	276

NAVRONGO

Livestock	Value in Units	Chana						Kologo				
		I*	II	III	IV*	V	VI	I	II	III*	IV	V
Cattle	60	3	–	–	1	–	3	3	–	6	–	–
Donkeys	30	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Sheep	10	–	–	–	5	2	2	1	2	7	3	7
Goats	8	8	–	–	5	2	2	–	–	1	4	2
Fowls	1	23	9	2	24	10	–	17	8	10	15	20
Guinea fowls ...	1	21	2	2	10	7	–	–	–	5	9	6
Horses	160	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total Units ...		288	11	4	274	53	246	207	28	453	86	142

*Compounds suffering no shortage of cultivated foods during the previous year.

†The unit is taken to be the fowl and all other classes of stock are related to it at roughly thei since it does not take into account the age of the stock. The unit is useful for comparing the stocl

[p. 72A-i]

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7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

APPENDIX II—TABLE 8.

the livestock owned by 54 compounds at 10 centres in North Mamprusi.

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ZUARUNGU AREA (April, 1935)

...gadi			Sambrano					Tongo					Zuarungu				
Compound No.																	
I	IV	V*	I	II	III	IV	V	I*	II	III	IV*	V	I*	II*	III	IV	V
8	1	2	3	–	2	1	–	3	–	1	6	–	3	3	–	–	–
2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	–
4	1	8	8	8	3	10	–	–	6	8	–	4	9	–	–	3	–
4	1	5	2	5	6	8	2	–	4	4	6	4	5	10	10	1	3
5	5	20	25	6	24	10	7	–	12	36	7	20	20	7	6	1	4
4	3	16	6	5	8	11	–	27	4	5	11	40	12	3	–	–	6
	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
1	86	276	307	131	230	245	23	267	106	213	586	132	342	300	65	99	34

NAVRONGO AREA (April, 1934)

Kologo				Navrongo		Wiaga						Total 20 compounds	Mean	K	
														2	
I*	IV	V	VI	I*	II*	I	II	III	IV*	V	VI*			I	II
6	–	–	–	6	–	7	3	–	8	5	3	48	2.4	–	–
-	–	1	–	1	–	1	1	–	1	–	1	10	.5	–	–
7	3	7	3	5	11	–	–	–	6	3	5	62	3.1	–	–
1	4	2	4	4	7	8	4	–	4	8	7	70	3.5	–	12
10	15	20	15	–	20	17	6	8	20	8	6	228	11.9	4	10
5	9	6	9	–	7	7	10	–	10	8	5	113	5.9	4	10
-	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
32	86	142	86	472	198	538	298	8	632	410	327	4,716	226	8	276

t at roughly their exchangeable value. It is purely arbitrary
eparing the stocking on different compounds.

[p.72A-ii]

rusi.

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Zuarungu						Total 29 compounds	Mean
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII		
–	–	–	3	3	–	55	1.9
–	2	–	1	–	–	12	.4
–	3	–	13	–	–	109	3.7
10	1	3	15	–	1	145	5
6	1	4	–	9	3	289	10
–	–	6	14	–	–	218	7.5
–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
86	90	34	474	189	11	6,577	226

KUSASI AREA (1936)

ean	Zebilla					Total 5 compounds	Mean
	I	II	III	IV	V		
2.4	–	–	–	2	–	2	.4
.5	–	–	–	2	2	4	.8
3.1	–	–	–	10	2	12	2.4
3.5	–	12	–	4	4	20	4
1.9	4	10	6	5	15	40	8
1.9	4	10	–	–	9	23	4.75
	–	–	–	–	1	1	.2
36	8	276	6	317	136	743	148

LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 54 COMPOUNDS IN NORTH MAMPRUSI

	Total	Mean
Horses	2	–
Cattle	105	1.9
Donkeys	26	.5
Sheep	183	3.4
Goats	235	6.2
Fowls	567	10.5
Guinea fowls ...	359	6.6
Units ...	12,036	223

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